

IN PROSPECT (THE RELAUNCH OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE, ITS INTERNATIONALIST AND ANTIMPERIALIST CHARACTER) HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY KEPT OUT FROM THE HEARINGS - AS ALWAYS, THEY ARE TRYING THE REVOLUTIONARIES, BUT TO TRY THE REVOLUTION IS IMPOSSIBLE - THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF OUR ORGANIZATION'S ACTIVITY CANNOT BE CLOSED IN POLICE OR JURIDIC-FORMAL AMBITS BY A BOURGEOISIE'S COURT BECAUSE IT FINDS ITS REAL PLACING AND IT GETS ITS RECOGNITION ON THE CLASS-WAR'S GROUND, ON THE GROUND OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE IMPERIALIST STATE, FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF POLITICAL POWER, FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, FOR THE COMMUNISM. IT'S THIS WHAT COUNTS AND SHOWS THE WEAKNESS OF WHATEVER ATTEMPT OF THE COUNTER-GUERRILLA TO DISTORT THE POLITICAL AIM OF AN ACTION WHICH, BY ENFORCING THE LINE OF THE RED BRIGADES AND IN FULL CONSISTENCY WITH THE WHOLE HISTORY OF OUR ORGANIZATION, WAS DRAWN UP AND CARRIED OUT CONSIDERING THE ATTACK TO THE USA, THE ATTACK TO THE NATO, AS THE CONCRETE AND VITAL INTERFACE BETWEEN THE STRATEGIC INTEREST OF THE METROPOLITAN PROLETARIAT AND THAT OF THE PEOPLES SUBMITTED TO THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD, THEREFORE TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ANTIMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS WHICH THE RED BRIGADES ARE CARRYING ON IN ITALY CHARACTERIZED ITSELF AS INTERNATIONALIST AND ANTIMPERIALIST FROM THE BEGINNING - THIS CHARACTER HAS ALWAYS BEEN AFFIRMED IN THE PRAXIS, AND IN THE PRAXIS IT HAS BEEN VERIFIED AND DEFINED PRECISELY STEP BY STEP FROM THE OPERATION AGAINST THE NATO ON DECEMBER 1981, WHICH CENTRED IN THE CAPTURE OF THE AMERICAN GENERAL JAMES LEE DOZIER, NATO'S VICE-COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF FOR SOUTH EUROPE - AN INITIATIVE WHICH MATERIALIZED AS A DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAF'S OFFENSIVE IN GERMANY AGAINST THE US BASE OF RAMSTEIN AND THE GENERAL KROESSEN, ^{ALSO} PLACING ITSELF ~~AND~~ IN DIALECTICS WITH THE LEBANESE FARL'S ACTION AGAINST THE AMERICAN MILITARY ATTACHE IN PARIS, RAY, AND WITH OTHER ATTACKS IN THAT PERIOD AGAINST "THE MEN, THE CENTERS AND THE BASES OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY MACHINE", PURSUING THE "PROGRAM OF UNITY WITH THE COMMUNISTS AND OF ALLIANCE WITH THE PEOPLES OPPRESSED BY THE IMPERIALISM" IN THAT PERIOD THERE WAS THE MATERIALIZATION OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE "CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANTIMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT IN THE WHOLE EUROPEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN AREA" [RESOLUTION OF THE STRATEGIC LEADERSHIP, 1981], A BASIC WATCHWORD WHICH CHARACTERIZED OUR ORGANIZATION'S ACTIVITY ~~AND~~ DURING ALL THE EIGHTIES - WITH THE ACTION AGAINST RAY LEAMON HUNT, THE AMERICAN GENERAL DIRECTOR OF THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE OF OBSERVATION IN SINAI, ON FEBRUARY 1984, THE RED BRIGADES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIGHTING COMMUNIST PARTY (BR-FCC) ATTACKED THE IMPERIALIST PLAN OF NORMALIZATION AND PACIFICATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST REGION, WHICH WAS BASED ON THE INFAMOUS AGREEMENTS OF CAMP DAVID, AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE ZIONIST ENTITY AND THE TRAITOR SODAY'S EGYPT - THE OBJECTIVE, THE HEAD OF THE STRUCTURE IN SECURITY FOR THE IMPLEMENT OF THOSE AGREEMENTS, WAS SHOT IN A MOMENT IN WHICH ONE OF THE FIRST ITALIAN OPERATIONS OF DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE REGION WAS TAKING PLACE, WITHIN THE PRESERVATION OF A STRATEGIC BALANCE FUNCTIONAL TO THE US AND NATO INTERESTS IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN - THEREFORE THE ATTACK AGAINST HUNT PLACED ITSELF INTO THE FRAMEWORK OF THE BRAVE BATTLE OF THE LEBANESE AND PALESTINIAN ANTIMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY FORCES, WHILE THE USS NEW JERSEY BATTLESHIP WAS SHELLING THE MUSLIM POPULAR QUARTERS OF WEST BEIRUT, AND ON THE EVE OF THE DEFEAT OF THE IMPERIALIST EXPEDITION WITH THE RETREAT OF THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN CONTINGENTS - BECAUSE OF THE ^{BLOWS} STROKES INFLICTED BY THE LEBANESE RESISTENCE ON FEBRUARY 1986, IN THE POLITICAL SPREAD OF THE ACTION AGAINST LANDO ONTI, A CLOSE COLLABORATOR OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IN THAT PERIOD, GIOVANNI SPADOLINI, AND AN ARMS DEALER WITH THE ZIONISTS, THERE IS A MORE PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE GEOPOLITICAL AREA IN WHICH OUR REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS PLACES ITSELF, THAT IS "EUROPE - MEDITERRANEAN BASIN - MIDDLE EAST", AN AREA WHICH IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE INTERSECTION OF THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE CAPITALISTIC MODE OF PRODUCTION IN ITS IMPERIALIST PHASE, OF THAT BETWEEN THE TWO BLOCKS, OF THAT BETWEEN THE METROPOLIS AND THE PERIPHERY'S DEPENDENT COUNTRIES - THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IS PICKED OUT, THE OBJECTIVE TREND TO THE "CONVERGENCE BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN PROLETARIAT'S INTERESTS AND THOSE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PEOPLES OF THE AREA" IS AFFIRMED AND ANALYZED, AND THE "INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE COMMUNISTS" WATCHWORD IS RELAUNCHED - A WATCHWORD WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN PECULIAR TO THE RED BRIGADES, IN OPPOSITION TO ANY DOGMATIC VIEW OR AN ABSTRACT "M-I" PURISM, WHICH, IN FACT, HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE ^{ACTUAL} DYNAMICS OF THE CONFLICT AND WITH THAT FIGHTING ANTIMPERIALIST PRACTICE WHICH REPRESENTS THE ONLY SUBSTANTIAL RULE TO DISTINGUISH THE NECESSARY LEVELS OF UNITY AND ALLIANCE AMONG THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES - THEREFORE THE PROGRESSIVE QUALITATIVE STAGES FOR A COMPLETE DEFINITION OF THE PROSPECTS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FRONT IN OUR GEOPOLITICAL AREA UP TO ITS RECOGNITION AS ORGANIZATION'S LINE IN PROGRAMMATIC UNITY WITH THE ATTACK TO THE STATE'S HEART, DON'T ORIGINATE FROM AN IDEOLOGIC OR BOOKISH SETTING OUT, ON THE CONTRARY THEY HAVE MATURED IN THE THINK OF THE FIGHTING AS AN INTEGRANT PART OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THIS COUNTRY - THE CONSTRUCTION'S AND CONSOLIDATION'S PROCESS OF THE ANTIMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT [FCA], LIKE THE WHOLE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, DOESN'T PROCEED IN A ^{STADFAST} STEADFAST WAY, BY GRADUAL AND NATURAL EVOLUTION - JUST BECAUSE A CORRECT VIEW OF THE ANTIMPERIALISM HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE GENERIC "INTERNATIONALIST" SOLIDARISM, WHICH TODAY IS THE FASHION MORE THAN EVER AMID THE OPPORTUNISTS, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FRONT CAN NEITHER BE A MERE SUMMATION OF INITIATIVES TO WHICH ONE AWARDS A SIGNATURE, NOR A REMOTE CONFRONTATION AMONG REALITIES CLOSED IN THEIR OWN PARTICULARISMS - IF THE CONDITION ITSELF FOR A REALLY REVOLUTIONARY POSITION IN THE METROPOLIS IS THE STRATEGIC CONNECTION WITH THE STRUGGLES WHICH SPREAD OUT IN THE PERIPHERY, TODAY ONLY A FORMULATION OF THE FRONT AS A MORE

ADVANCED POLITICAL-MILITARY STAGE TO PUT THE ANTIMPERIALIST PRAXIS TO THE LEVEL REQUIRED BY THE HARSHNESS AND THE SIZE OF THE FIGHT. CAN GUARANTEE THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE MUTUAL STRENGTHENING OF THE DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES. THEN, WE MUST FIX THE STAGES WHICH MAKE THE QUALITATIVE JUMP. MATURE FOR THE UNDERTAKING OF SUBJECTIVE RESPONSABILITIES TO FAVOUR THE WIDEST FIGHTING LINE-UP AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY. THIS PURSUIT ISN'T A THEORETIC POSSIBILITY, RATHER A PRACTICAL NECESSITY. AGAINST THE IMPERIALISM IN THE METROPOLES OF WESTERN EUROPE THERE IS ONLY THE REVOLUTIONARY POSITION OF THE GUERRILLA, AND ITS ABILITY TO DEEPEN THE DYLECTICS WITH THE PROLETARIAN AND WORKING AUTONOMY, THE CLASS AUTONOMY WHICH HAS GROWN IN THE RELATION WITH THE ARMED STRUGGLE, AND WHICH HAS DEVELOPED ITSELF DURING MORE THAN TWO DECADES OF FIGHT BETWEEN REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION; THEREFORE IT'S SO "AUTONOMOUS", BECAUSE IT HAS BROKEN WITH THE REVISIONISM AND THE HISTORICAL INTEGRATION OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZED WORKING MOVEMENT INTO THE COLLABORATIONISM WITH THE BOURGEOISIE.

NO CHATTER ABOUT ALTERNATIVE, "FROM-THE-BOTTOM" DYNAMICS, ABOUT LIBERATED SOCIAL SPACES TO BE SPREAD GRADUALLY IN THE CAPITALISTIC AMBIT CAN MASK THE REALITY THAT THE METROPOLITAN PROLETARIAT AFFIRM ITS OWN AUTONOMY'S LEVELS AS FROM ITS ANTI-INSTITUTIONAL, ANTI-STATE, ANTI-NATIONAL AND CONSEQUENTLY ANTIMPERIALIST POSITION. NO FIGHTING PRACTICE CAN BE DEPRECIATED TO SUCH A POINT THAT IT'S TRANSFORMED INTO BARTER GOODS TO "MAKE PRESSURES" ON THE GOVERNMENT, OR TO HOPE AGAINST HOPE THAT ONE COULD INFLUENCE THE FATE OF THE IMPRISONED MILITANTS WITHOUT GOING SO FAR TO NEGATE THE PRESUPPOSITIONS THEMSELVES OF THE GUERRILLA IN THE METROPOIS. THE RAF'S REGRESSION SHOWS ALL THESE POINTS PUNCTUALLY, AND IT'S THE BEST CONFIRMATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DESERTION OF ITS VANGUARD ROLE IN THE ATTACK ~~AND~~ TO THE NATO AND IN THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE REARMAMENT POLICIES IN WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE LAST DECADE. THE UNITARY PRAXIS OF ACTION DIRECTE AND ROYER ARMEE FRAKTION WITH THE ACTIONS AGAINST ZIMMERMAN, AGAINST AUDRAN, AND THE JOINED ACTION AGAINST THE AMERICAN BASE AT FRANKFURT ON THE LINE OF THE RAF-AD TEXT OF JANUARY 1985, HAD MARKED AN IMPORTANT STAGE TO WHICH THE BR-PCC REFERRED IN THE RAF-BR DOCUMENT AND WHICH WAS MATERIALIZED, ON SEPTEMBER 1988, WITH THE ATTACK LED BY THE RAF KOMMANDO "KAALD AKE" AGAINST THE SECRETARY OF STATE AT THE ^{GERMAN} MINISTER OF FINANCE, TISTMEYER. THE SEVERE HITS INFLICTED BY THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION ON THE GUERRILLA IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE DEVELOPMENT ITSELF OF THE RAF'S VICISSITUDES IN GERMANY DON'T QUESTION THE SIGNIFICATIVE REVOLUTIONARY SUBSTANCE OF THE PROCESS WHICH WE HAVE SUMED UP IN ITS FUNDAMENTAL TRAITS AT ALL, ON THE CONTRARY THEY CONFIRM THE HISTORIC NATURE OF A NOT AT ALL LINEAR PROCESS, WHICH DEPENDS ON THE SITUATION OF THE FORCE RELATIONS, JUST BECAUSE IT DEVELOPS TO OVERTHROW THEM. IN OTHER WORDS, THE EXPERIENCE OF THE EIGHTIES SHOWS THAT THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANTIMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT DOESN'T OCCUR ON PAPER, IT CANNOT BE PLANNED AS POTENTIAL ACCUMULATION OF FORCES TO ~~BE~~ THROW, AT A GIVEN MOMENT, AGAINST THE ENEMY, BUT IT ASSERTS ITSELF IN A PROGRAMMATIC WAY, IN THE THICK OF THE FIGHT, LEARNING FROM THE DEFEATS AND ^{SO} SUCCEEDING ~~BE~~ IN CONSOLIDATING EVEN IN THE WITHDRAWALS. THE FACTS ALWAYS IMPOSE THEIR LESSONS, ON CONDITION THAT ONE IS ABLE TO RECOGNIZE THE WEIGHT AND THE IMPORTANCE IN FIXING THE ACTUAL DISCRIMINANT BETWEEN A "BEFORE" AND AN "AFTER".

THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION'S WAR AGAINST IRAQ REPRESENTED ONE OF THESE EVENTS; NOTHING HAS REMAINED AS BEFORE, THE GENERAL SITUATION HAS ASSUMED NEW QUALITY AND SWIFTNESS. DURING THE GULF WAR, FROM THE PERIPHERY TO THE CENTER OF THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM, VARIOUS REVOLUTIONARY FORCES ~~WERE~~ WERE ABLE TO GET READY TO OPPOSE THE WESTERN INTERVENTION. ATTACKING MEN, STRUCTURES AND INTERESTS OF THE POWERS WHICH WERE SLAUGHTERING THE IRAQI PEOPLE, AND PARTICULARLY MAKING ACTIONS AGAINST THE NATO AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY MACHINE. BESIDES THE ATTACKS OF THE ARAB REVOLUTIONARY FORCES, IN OUR GEOPOLITICAL AREA THE COMRADES OF "DEVKIMCI SOL" IN TURKEY AND OF THE "NOVEMBER 17TH" ORGANIZATION IN GREECE ARTICULATED WIDE-RANGING OFFENSIVE CAMPAIGNS WITH A REALLY MODEL POLITICAL SETTING OUT AGAINST THE US MILITARY PRESENCE AND REPRESENTATIVE CENTERS OF THE AMERICAN.

INTERESTS, WHILE OTHER ATTACKS WERE CARRIED OUT QUITE EVERYWHERE, IN CONNECTION WITH THE PARTICULAR CONDITIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND THE MATURITY OF THE DIFFERENT SITUATIONS - ACTUALLY, ATTACKING THE CENTRAL PROJECTS OF THE IMPERIALISM, WEAKENING IT BY HITTING IT IN THE REAR, DESTABILIZING ITS LOGISTIC BACK-LINES AND FINALLY DRIVING THE IMPERIALISTS AWAY FROM THE WHOLE MIDDLE EAST REGION, WITH THE PROSPECTS OF THE REVERSAL OF THE FORCE RELATIONS BETWEEN IMPERIALISM AND REVOLUTION, IS THE OBJECTIVE ON WHICH THE FIGHTING INITIATIVES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN THE WHOLE AREA MUST CONVERGE - THIS IS THEIR DUTY, THIS IS OUR DUTY.

ALSO ITALY COMES INTO THE WAR, LINING UP IN THE MULTINATIONAL FRONT AT THE SIDE OF WASHINGTON, LONDON, PARIS, DOING ITS PART IN THE ROLE WHICH IS SUITABLE TO A MIDDLE POWER OF THE IMPERIALIST CENTER, STRUCTURALLY AND HISTORICALLY HERE THE BACK-LINES REMAINED SAFE IN SUBSTANCE - SO, THE PROCESS OF STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRONT HAD TO PAY FOR THE EXTREMELY NEGATIVE POLITICAL WEIGHT OF THE LACK OF A REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE WHICH IS UP TO THE GRAVITY OF THE MOMENT, ESPECIALLY IN ITALY, WHERE ONE DIDN'T SUCCEED EVEN TO OUTLINE THE NECESSARY DIALECTIC RELATION ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE'S GROUND WITH THE VANGUARDS WHO WERE EXPRESSED BY THE MASS MOVEMENTS TOO, THROUGH THAT INCISIVE, "FROM THE BOTTOM" INITIATIVE WHICH, ONE AND ONLY, COULD ROUSE ITS MATURATION IN AN ANTIMPERIALIST WAY - ~~SO~~ THUS, THE MOVEMENT, WHICH STILL ROLLED ROUND AGAINST THE WAR, ENDED INEVITABLY INTO THE RANGE OF THE OPPORTUNISM, NOT BEING ABLE, FOR OBJECTIVE REASONS, TO ESCAPE THE HEGEMONIC INFLUENCE OF AN EUROPEAN LEFT WHICH IS ORGANICALLY SIDED WITH ITS OWN IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE. ALWAYS

ALSO THIS RIGHT SELF-CRITICISM REFERS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF A HOWEVER AND WHEREVER SOUND PRINCIPLE - ONLY THE ACTIVE PRESENCE OF THE GUERRILLA WARRANTS THE POSSIBILITY OF BREAKING ANY KIND OF COMPROMISE OF THE METROPOLITAN PROLETARIAT WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE, AND THEREFORE IT ENABLES TO OPEN THE WAY TO THE GROWTH OF THE CLASS AUTONOMY AND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS STRATEGIC INDEPENDENCE - IN FACT, IT'S FROM THE SHARING OF THE PROFITS DERIVED FROM THE OPPRESSION OF THE PERIPHERY THAT THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS PACIFIST IDEOLOGY COULD GENERALIZE ITSELF - AN IDEOLOGY WHICH IS USED IN THE PERIODS OF ACUTE CRISIS TO SPREAD THAT IMPERIALIST CONSCIENCE MOBILIZED AS PROTECTION OF THE "HIGHER REASONS OF THE WESTERN CIVILIZATION", THROUGH THE INTEGRATION OF THE HISTORICAL WORKING MOVEMENT INTO THE COLLABORATIONISM WITH THE STATE - THE IDEOLOGIES OF THE "MAJOR MORALITY" OF THE NON-VIOLENT METHODS, THE EQUIDISTANCE BETWEEN VICTIMS AND SLAUGHTERERS, THE PHILANTHROPISM AND THE HUMANITARIANISM WITH THE NEO-COLONIAL TOPEE, REST, EXACTLY AS THE CHAUVINIST AND RACIST POISONS, ON THE OVER-PROFITS PRODUCED BY THE IMPERIALIST DOMINATION, THEREFORE THEY FEED ON THE SAME MATERIAL CAUSES WHICH PRODUCE THE OBJECTIVE WAR TREND PECULIAR TO THE CAPITALISTIC MODE OF PRODUCTION IN ITS IMPERIALIST PHASE - EVIDENTLY, IT ISN'T POSSIBLE TO FACE THE EFFECTS OF THIS REALITY ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PREVENTIVE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BEST INTERNAL PACIFICATION BY CAGING THE ANTAGONISTIC PROLETARIAN TENSIONS WITHOUT KEEPING THE ROLE AND THE DUTY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SUBJECTIVITY VERY CLEAR - THE GUERRILLA DOESN'T PROPOSE ITSELF AS ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMED PROPAGANDA WHICH TAKES THE CONSCIENCE TO THE MASSES BY AGITATING EXEMPLARY ACTIONS, BUT AS POLITICAL-MILITARY STRATEGY WHICH, BY ATTACKING THE POLITICAL BALANCES SUBTENDED TO THE CENTRAL OBJECTIVES OF THE IMPERIALISM, INTERVENES ON THE GROUND OF THE GENERAL FORCE RELATIONS - FORCE RELATIONS WHICH, DURING THE GULF WAR, WERE REFERRED TO THE SITUATION IN THE IRAQI DESERT, AND NOT TO THAT OF THE ITALIAN SQUARES.

AFTER THREE YEARS, THE AGGRESSION TO IRAQ CONFIRMS ITSELF AS A CRUCIAL HISTORICAL WATERSHED - THE LAST WAR IN WHICH THE IMPERIALISM'S GENERAL INTERESTS TO CONFIRM THE SUBORDINATION OF A PERIPHERY'S COUNTRY COULD STILL IDENTIFY ITSELF WITH THE USA'S PARTICULAR INTEREST AND, TOGETHER THIS, THE FIRST WAR FITTED IN THE NEW SET OF CONTRADICTIONS WHICH HAS BEEN DETERMINED BY THE END OF THE BIPOLARISM AND WITHIN THE WIDEST GLOBAL REALIGNMENT OF FORCES EVER OCCURRED SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR - THIS IS A SITUATION WHICH IS TODAY IN RAPID MOVEMENT AND IN WHICH THE GETTING EXHAUSTED OF THAT "WESTERN ANTI-SOVIETIC" COHESION WHICH CHARACTERIZED A WHOLE HISTORICAL PERIOD, IS MAKING THE INTER-IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS ASSUME AN IMPORTANCE WHICH WAS UNTHINKABLE ALSO ONLY A SHORT

TIME AGO.

IN OUR GEOPOLITICAL AREA IT'S HAPPENING A MAJOR EVIDENCE OF THE ~~GUIDING~~ GUIDING PRINCIPLES WHICH DICTATE THE REPLACEMENT OF ALL THE IMPERIALIST STATES INTO THE NEW ORDER, AS REGARDS THEIR HIERARCHIC RELATIONS AND THOSE WITH A PERIPHERY WHICH IS MORE AND MORE SUBORDINATED AND STRANGLING BY THE DEVELOPMENT/UNDERDEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS - THE TENDENTIAL DIVERGENCE OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE USA AND THE FORMING EUROPEAN IMPERIALIST POLE HAS BEEN STRESSED BY THE PROCESS WHICH HAS BROKEN THE EAST-BLOC UP, RE-OUTLINED THE MID-EASTERN EUROPE AND LED THE SOVIET UNION TO THE DESTRUCTION. ~~AT~~ AT ITS TURN THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONAL INTEGRATION, WHICH SHOULD HAVE ORIENTED THE COHESION'S POLICIES WITHIN THE U.E., MET WITH A STANDSTILL FOR THE IMPOSSIBILITY TO OBSERVE THE PLANNED STAGES OF THE MAASTRICHT TREATY UNDER THE PRESSING OF THE CRISIS AND THE LASTING OF THE RECESSION. THE END OF THE ~~EMS~~ ^{E.M.S.} AND OF THE PROJECT FOR THE RAPID UNIFICATION OF THE CENTRAL BANKS AND OF THE MONEY REFLECT THE DIFFICULTY ITSELF OF CONSOLIDATING A SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL PLANNING AMONG THE DIFFERENT STATEMENTS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE TIME'S AND THE CONCRETE WAYS OF THE INTEGRATION. THE INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS AND THE SUPER-NATIONAL BODIES EXPRESSED BY THE REDEFINING POLITICAL BALANCES, ARE NOT ONLY AN OBJECT OF "EUROPEANIST" QUARRELS OR OF DISPUTES ABOUT THE ARMCHAIRS, BUT THEY REFLECT THE MATERIAL BASIS OF THE CONTRADICTORY WORSENING OF THE INTEGRATION/COMPETITION RELATION AMONG THE VARIOUS ECONOMIC POTENTIALS, AND, THEREFORE, OF THE COMPETITIVE RUSH TOWARDS A NEW PARTITION OF THE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND OF THE MARKETS. THE CONTROVERSIES ABOUT VARIOUS "MODELS OF INTEGRATION" CURRENTLY IN COMPETITION (EUROPE AT TWO OR THREE SPEEDS, AT TWO, THREE, FOUR CONCENTRIC BANDS, EUROPE OF THE REGIONS, AND SO ON) ARE PRESUPPOSED BY THE COLLISION/COURSE AMONG THE IMPERIALIST INTERESTS JUST WHILE THEY ARE TRYING TO HIDE IT THROUGH THE APPARENT USUAL PROPAGANDISTIC UNANIMISM. HOWEVER, IN THE BACKGROUND THE GERMAN QUESTION REMAINS WELL PRESENT. IT'S UNDOUBTED THAT, WHATEVER ~~THE~~ THE IMPORTANCE TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE STRATEGIC RANGE OF THE VARIOUS LINES ON THE GROUND, TO THE STRENGTHENING OR WEAKENING OF THE VARIOUS AXES (PARIS - BONN AXIS AT FIRST) MAY BE, IT'S THE QUESTION OF THE "GREAT GERMANY", FROM THE ANNEXATION OF THE DDR ONWARDS THAT CONDITIONS ~~THE~~ THE POLITICS INSIDE THE U.E. AND OF THE U.E. STATES TOWARDS THE OUTSIDE. THE "GREAT GERMANY" WHICH IS LOOKING FOR MORE SPACE EASTWARD, IS SURROUNDING ITSELF WITH A BELT OF SATELLITE COUNTRIES, THROUGH THE MARK AREA, WHICH EXTENDS FROM THE BALTIC TO THE BALKANS, BUT WHICH HASN'T THE STRENGTH TO DOMINATE BY ITSELF AS THE SOLE CONTINENTAL ECONOMIC POWER, REMAINS AS DETERMINING NOT ONLY ~~FOR THE FORMING OF AN EUROPEAN IMPERIALIST POLE~~ FOR THE FORMING OF AN EUROPEAN IMPERIALIST POLE, BUT ALSO IN THE COMPLEX SETTLEMENT WHICH THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIES MUST GIVE TO THE NEW LEVEL OF CONTRADICTIONS WHICH ARE THICKENING IN OUR GEOPOLITICAL AREA.

THUS, IF ~~THE~~ THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK IN WHICH THE MOST SIGNIFICATIVE STEPS OF THE GUERRILLA'S ENGAGEMENT FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANTIIMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT COMES ALMOST UNRECOGNIZABLE THROUGH EVENTS OF A COLOSSAL IMPORTANCE WHICH MARKED THE RHYTHM OF THE '89-'91 PERIOD, FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY POINT OF VIEW, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE LINKING UP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCES IN THE DEPENDANT COUNTRIES AND IN THE METROPOLIS, THE NECESSITY OF THE FRONT'S STRENGTHENING COMES OUT WITH ALL ITS PRESSING UP-TO-DATE-NESS AND PRACTICABILITY. CERTAINLY, IT'S INELUDIBLE TO FORWARD THAT RE-ADJUSTMENT TO THE HARD AND COMPLEX CONDITIONS OF THE TODAY'S FIGHT, WHICH FORCES A BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND A MORE DEEPENED ANALYSIS OF THE LOT OF CONTRADICTIONS IN THE UTMOST CRISIS AREA TODAY IN THE WORLD. FOR THE COMMUNISTS, THE RULE OF THE CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCRETE SITUATION REMAINS AS THE GRATEST GUARANTY OF DRAWING A SERIOUS AND FAR-SEEING VALUATION OF THE REALITY AS IT IS AND NOT AS IT COULD HAVE BEEN, AND THEREFORE TO OVERCOME EITHER THE SHORT-SIGHTED PRAGMATISM, OR THAT THEORETICAL LAZINESS WHICH PREVENTS THE RIGHT ARRANGEMENT OF NEW OR SIMPLY DIFFERENT FACTORS IN COMPARISON WITH THE PAST. THEY ARE JUST THE BREAKLINES OF THE PREVIOUS INTERNATIONAL BALANCE TO SHOW THE PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE EXAMINED.

WITH THE GETTING EXHAUSTED OF THE EAST/WEST CONTRADICTION, AS IT ^{WAS} HISTORICALLY ~~DETERMINED~~ DETERMINED AND AS IT DEVELOPED INTO THE TOTAL CONTRADICTION BETWEEN TWO WORLDS AND TWO SYSTEMS, ALSO THE NECESSITY OF AN IMPERIALISM'S GENERAL INTEREST FAILS, A NECESSITY IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE AND WHICH COULD BE SYNTHETIZED AS THE SUBSTANTIAL RECOGNITION OF THE AMERICAN SUPER-POWER IN THE ROLE OF UNDISPUTED LEADERSHIP OVER THE ~~THE~~ WHOLE WESTERN BLOCK - THAT IS A RECOGNITION WHICH CERTAINLY

PRESUPPOSED THE DIFFERENCE OF THE PARTICULAR ECONOMIC POTENTIALS AMONG THE VARIOUS IMPERIALIST STATES, BUT WHICH ORGANIZED THEIR CHAIN HIERARCHICALLY, ALSO ON THE BASIS OF THE ~~THE~~ GEOPOLITICAL LOCATION ON THE FRONTLINE WITH THE EASTERN BLOCK. ON THIS SUBJECT THE IMPORTANCE ASSUMED BY ITALY AND TURKEY INSIDE THE NATO AND, FOR ANOTHER REASON, THAT OF 'ISRAEL', THE ZIONIST ENTITY, THE WESTERN OUTPOST WEDGED IN THE HEART OF THE ARAB WORLD ON THE EVE OF ITS NATIONAL AWAKENING'S ERA AND OF THE DECOLONIZATION, ARE SIGNIFICATIVE. THE HISTORY ITSELF OF THE NATO, IN ITS DOUBLE ROLE OF CONTRAPOSITION TO THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND INTERNAL STABILIZATION IN AN ~~AN~~ ANTICOMMUNIST FUNCTION, SHOWS HOW MUCH DEEPLY THE BIPOLAR AGE INFLUENCED ALL THE ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONS AMONG THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES. THE DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE ALLIANCE WITH THE SUCCESSIVE COOPTATION OF THE FORMER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT DEGREES OF SUBORDINATION AND INTEGRATION, MEASURE THE CHANGES HAPPENED IN THE ROLE OF THE NATO, WHICH TODAY IS A GOVERNOR OF THE RELATION BETWEEN USA AND EUROPE ON THE BASIS OF THE UNCHANGED AMERICAN MILITARY SUPREMACY, FOR THE CONTROL OF THE GROWING OF THE "GREAT GERMANY" AND ITS LINE OF ECONOMIC PENETRATION EASTWARDS. THE SUBORDINATION OF THE ~~THE~~ WEST TO THE NATO IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION ~~IN~~ INTO THE FORMER JUGOSLAVINA STRESSES EITHER THE PRESENT WEAKNESS OF THE CONCRETE POLITICAL STRUCTURING OF AN EUROPEAN POLE PROVIDED WITH AN UNIVOCAL STRATEGY FOR THE CRISIS AREAS, OR THE NEW CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ATLANTIC MILITARY BODY IN THE "ADVANCED PRESENCE" OF THE OUT-OF-AREA PROJECTIONS. FOR THE REVOLUTIONARIES, RECOGNIZING THESE CHANGES, WEIGHING THEM CORRECTLY, DOESN'T MEAN TO STOP AN ~~AN~~ ANTIMPERIALIST INITIATIVE NOW INEFFECTUAL BECAUSE GUIDED BY OLD FIRING-TABLES, BUT TO ADJUST THE SIGHT OF THE FIREARM TO SHOT THE NEW TARGET IN MOTION. ATTACKING THE NATO IN THIS PHASE DOESN'T MEAN ONLY TO HIT MILITARY PERSONNEL, STRUCTURES, ROLES, BUT TO DISARTICULATE A JUST REDEFINING IMPERIALIST PROJECT WHICH, BY TRYING NEW ~~NEW~~ TEACHINGS OF USE ON THE BATTLEFIELD AND BY PARADING ITS DESTRUCTIVE TECHNOLOGICAL POWER, ACTUALLY SHOWS THE STRATEGIC WEAKNESS OF A BALANCE WHICH CANNOT SETTLE INTO A "NEW WORLD ORDER" WHICH, IN THE AMERICAN DREAMS OF DOMINATION, SHOULD IMPOSE ITSELF THROUGH THE END OF THE COLD WAR. FOR THIS, THE QUALITY OF THE CONTRADICTIONS, WHICH ARE PRIMED BY THE ATTACK TO THE PROJECT WHICH, BY REARRANGING THE ROLE OF THE NATO, CONTRIBUTES TO CONDITION THE RE-PLACING OF THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES IN OUR GEOPOLITICAL AREA, GIVES A NEW IMPULSE TO ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES, TO THEIR EXTENSION AND MUTUAL STRENGTHENING.

THE UNITARY ATTACK, DRAWN UP, COORDINATED AND MANAGED BY CAMPAIGNS AS FRONT'S LINE, ORIGINATES FROM THE UNITY WHICH IS ALREADY ~~FUNDAMENTALLY~~ ^{STRONGLY} CONTAINED IN THE SPREADING OUT OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY. THE UNITY IN THE ATTACK, AND NOT THE ABSOLUTE IDENTITY, PERHAPS TACKLED TOGETHER WITH THE THREAD OF THE IDEOLOGISM, AMONG THE DIFFERENT PROGRAMMATIC ~~CHOICES~~ ^{CONSTRUCTIONS AND} CHOICES OF THE VARIOUS FIGHT'S EXPERIENCES, IS THE BASIS OF AN EFFECTIVE RELAUNCHING OF THE ~~PROCESS OF~~ ^{STRENGTHENING} ~~THE FRONT~~ ^{THE FRONT}. IN THIS SENSE, THE DIFFERENCES DON'T REPRESENT A HANDICAP, BUT AN ENRICHMENT AND A FURTHER INCITEMENT TO THE VERIFICATION OF THE GUERRILLA SYSTEM'S VALIDITY. IT'S ALWAYS INSIDE A CONCRETE ANTIMPERIALIST FIGHTING PRACTICE THAT THE LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE COMMUNISTS, A LINE WHICH IS INTEGRANT PART OF THE THEORETICAL PATRIMONY AND THE PRAXIS OF THE BR-PCC, PUTS ITSELF ALSO INTO THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE UNITY'S AND ALLIANCE'S LEVELS TO BE DEFINED WITH THE ANTIMPERIALIST NOT-COMMUNIST FORCES. AND, ONCE AGAIN, THE RIGHT PARAMETER IS THE CONCRETE FIGHTING PRACTICE, BY DEFINING THE POLICY OF ALLIANCE WITH ALL THE ANTIMPERIALIST FORCES NOT AS DOGMATIC BARRING TOWARDS THE NOT-COMMUNISTS, BUT AS GUARANTEE OF THE MAJOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRONT'S STRATEGIC DIMENSION, RESPECTING THE RECIPROCAL SPECIFICITIES.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK IS HEAVILY CONDITIONING ALSO THE COURSE OF THE LIBERATION'S AND REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL STRUGGLES' PROCESSES, WHICH ARISE IN THE PERIPHERY OF THE SYSTEM.

IT'S A QUESTION OF PROCESSES WHICH ARE THE RESULT OF TENSIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS WHICH CANNOT FIND ANY REAL SETTLEMENT IN A CAPITALISTIC AMBIT, BECAUSE THEY ARE STRUCTURALLY BLOCKED IN THE UNDERDEVELOPMENT BY THE PROGRESSIVE POLARIZATION OF THE CENTER/PERIPHERY DYNAMICS, WHICH MORTGAGES THE SURVIVAL'S PROSPECTS THEMSELVES OF ENTIRE GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, CONDEMNING THEM TO A RELENTLESS WORSENING OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND SUBJECTING THEM TO NEW FORMS OF CONTROL WHICH, HOWEVER DISGUISED, DON'T CONFIRM ONLY THE SUBORDINATION TO THE IMPERIALIST STATES, BUT, IN CERTAIN CASES, ARE EVOLVING TO PROGRAMS OF "RE-COLONIZATION". THE CAPITALISTIC ACCUMULATION'S PROCESS INVOLVES MORE AND MORE ACCENTUATED CONCENTRATION AND CENTRALIZATION, AND AN ORGANICALLY UNEQUAL DEVELOPMENT. THEREFORE, THE MARKETS' INTEGRATION DOESN'T GENERALIZE THE DEVELOPMENT, BUT IT VENTS ITS EFFECTS UPON THE PERIPHERY. IT'S QUESTION OF THE BURSTING EFFECTS OF THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS WHICH ASSAULTS THE WHOLE SYSTEM, WHILE THE MORE ACUTE COMPETITION AMONG IMPERIALIST TRUSTS AND STATES FEEDS THE RACE FOR A DIFFERENT PARTITION OF THE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE AND OF THE CHANNELS OF TRADE. THIS FRAMEWORK BARS THE WAY TO A SELF-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT ALSO FOR THOSE DEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH, THANK TO A FAVOURABLE BASIC SITUATION (DIMENSIONS, RAW MATERIALS, GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION, CLIMATE, AND SO ON), COULD EXPLOIT THEIR POTENTIAL ESTATE OF RESOURCES AUTONOMOUSLY. MOREOVER, WITH THE END OF THE BIPOLARISM ALSO IT'S VERIFIED A LACK OF THE GENERAL GEOPOLITICAL CONDITIONS WHICH HAD PRODUCED THE SPECIFIC HISTORICAL FORMS ASSUMED BY THE AFFIRMATION. - IN A COURSE OF "UNWINDING" FROM THE TIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR DIVISION - OF NATIONAL BOURGEOISIES WHICH ARE ABLE TO REPRESENT ALSO THE WIDEST POPULAR DEMANDS IN SOME PERIODS OF THEIR FORMING AS CLASS AGAINST THE IMMEDIATE INTERESTS OF THE IMPERIALISM. THE EXISTENCE OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP REPRESENTED NOT ONLY AN IDEOLOGICAL DATUM POINT FOR THE DECOLONIZATION, BUT HISTORICALLY IT DETERMINED THAT INTERNATIONAL BALANCE AND THOSE MATERIAL PROMISES WHICH MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE LEADERSHIPS OF THE LIBERATION FRONTS AND MOVEMENTS TO MOVE TOWARDS RADICALISM, AND, AFTER THE SEIZURE OF THE POWER, TO SET UP MODELS WHICH WERE CONFLICTUAL TO THE NEO-COLONIAL STRATEGY OF PRESERVATION OF THE WESTERN INFLUENCE OVER THE "NEW DEMOCRACY" COUNTRIES, ORIGINATED FROM THE BREAK UP OF THE OLD EMPIRES.

TODAY THE OBSTINACY OF MANY BOURGEOISIES IN THE PERIPHERY IS THAT OF NEGOTIATING OVER THE BEST POSSIBLE POSITIONING IN THE HIERARCHICAL SCALE OF SUBORDINATION TO THE IMPERIALISM, SO MUCH THAT THEY WEAVE UNDER THIS OR THAT PROTECTIVE UMBRELLA, USING THE INTERIMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS POLITICALLY TO REMAIN IN POWER. IN THE ~~IMPERIALISTS'~~ IMPERIALISTS' EYES THE LEGITIMACY OF MANY OF THESE GOVERNMENTS IS CONNECTED WITH THEIR ABILITY OF WARRANTING THE MEASURES IMPOSED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC BODIES, THAT IS MAKING THEIR COUNTRIES ACCEPT THE WORLD BANK'S AND I.M.F.'S DICTAT. IN ONEWAY THIS SITUATION SATISFIES THE REDUCTION OF THE OFTEN BLOODY CONQUERED INDEPENDENCE TO A JURIDICAL BOX EMPTY OF REAL SUBSTANCE, IN ANOTHER WAY IT CAN MAKE THOSE CLASS ALLIANCES, ON WHICH THE ANTICOLONIAL STRUGGLES WERE BASED, BREAK, TO SUCH A POINT THAT WIDE POPULAR MASSES ARE PUSHED TO LOOK FOR IDEOLOGICAL REFERENCES, DIFFERENT FROM THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WHICH HAD GUIDED THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THE WIDE SOCIAL STRUGGLES WHICH ARE CAUSED BY THE PROGRESSIVE WORSENING OF THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, PRESS FROM THE BOTTOM TO THE LEADERSHIPS FORCING THEM TO REDEFINE THEMSELVES, WHILE THE BOURGEOISIE IS MORE AND MORE FAST BETWEEN THE NECESSITY OF PUTTING ITSELF AS NATIONAL CLASS IN NEW FORMS OR THE INEVITABLENESS OF BEING DRIVEN BACK TO THE "COMPRADORA" BOURGEOISIE'S STAGE, DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON THE IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION. THIS IS A REALITY WHICH, EVEN IF WITH THE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES, JOINS THE DESTINIES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES IN THE PERIPHERY AND WHICH NOT ONLY DOESN'T RE-DISCUSS, BUT RELANCH, ON MORE ADVANCED BASES, THE DECISIVE NECESSITY FOR THE COMMUNISTS TO BE INTEGRANT PART OF THOSE EMANCIPATION'S PROCESSES WHICH IN WHATEVER WAY, ALSO CONJUNCTURALLY, ASSUME AN ANTIMPERIALIST CHARACTER. CERTAINLY THE COMMUNISTS DON'T FIGHT TO HELP A WEAK BOURGEOISIE TO STRENGTHEN ITSELF IN A NATIONAL ROLE, ENTERING THROUGH THE BACK DOOR INTO THE "GOOD" SITTING-ROOM OF THE IMPERIALIST INTERESTS. BY TAKING PART, ARMS IN HAND, IN A PRO CBS ~~WHICH~~ WHICH INVOLVE VARIOUS CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRATA, [THE COMMUNISTS] DON'T RADICALIZE IT ONLY AS REGARDS THE FORMS OF STRUGGLE, BUT ALSO AS REGARDS ITS POLITICAL SUBSTANCE, FORCING THE BOURGEOIS SECTORS, WHICH ARE LINED UP IN WHATEVER WAY AGAINST THE IMPERIALISM, TO MAINTAIN A CONSISTENT POSITION, OR TO LEAVE THE GROUND. IN THIS SENSE THE COMMUNIST GUIDANCE OF THE STRUGGLE'S PROCESSES, WHICH ARE DEVELOPING IN THE PERIPHERY, IS THE

BETTER GUARANTY EITHER FOR THE DEEPENING OF THEIR IMMEDIATELY ANTIMPERIALIST CHARACTER, OR THE REVOLUTIONARY PROSPECT WHICH THEY KEEP OPEN, A PROSPECT CONNECTED WITH THE DEGREE OF LINKING UP WITH OTHER REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCES AND WITH THE DEGREE OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE OVERALL INCIDENCE OF THE DIRECTLY CLASSIST REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES OF THE METROPOLITAN PROLETARIAT WHICH SUCCEEDED IN AFFIRMING THEMSELVES IN THE IMPERIALIST CENTER. THEREFORE, REFERRING THE STEPS OF THE FRONT'S CONSTRUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION TO THIS GENERAL PICTURE MEANS TO GIVE AN ANYTHING BUT TACTICAL SETTING UP, OR DISTORTED ONE INTO A KIND OF FOREIGN POLICY TO FLANK TO ONE'S "OWN" REVOLUTION, TO THE INTERNATIONALISM, ON THE CONTRARY. IT MEANS TO ACT CONSCIOUSLY IN AN UNITARY HISTORICAL PROCESS WHICH DEVELOPS ON DIFFERENT LEVELS AND IN WHICH THE STRATEGIC CONNECTION WITH THE GROUND OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES OF THE PERIPHERY IS ~~BEING~~ PUT IN AGENDA WITH STILL MORE EVIDENCE BY THE EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED FROM 1989. THEREFORE, TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, ONE MUST STRONGLY CONFIRM THE POSSIBILITY OF FULFILLING THE HISTORICAL INTERNATIONALIST PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE IMPERIALISM. IN THIS PROSPECT, THE PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MATURE AND CONCRETELY PRACTICABLE LEVELS OF UNITY, AN POLITICAL-ORGANIZATIVE INTEGRATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AN OBJECTIVE WHICH ALWAYS REPRESENTED A DATUM POINT THAT CANNOT BE GIVEN UP FOR THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNISTS, IN EVERY HISTORICAL PHASE AND ESPECIALLY IN THE PRESENT AGE, THE AGE OF THE IMPERIALISM AND OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

IN OUR GEOPOLITICAL AREA IT'S OBVIOUS THE EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ARTICULATION WHICH CONNECTS THE IMPERIALIST POWERS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE ARAB-ISLAMIC WORLD. A WORLD WHICH, EVEN IF SHATTERED BY THE DEEPENING'S DYNAMICS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB BOURGEOISIES AND THE IMPERIALISM, DYNAMICS QUICKENED BY THE CRISIS PRESSING AND BY THE CHANGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCES, ORIENTS THE CONSCIENCE OF THE EXPLOITED ARAB MASSES AND REPRESENTS A VECTOR OF UNITARY STIMULUS FOR THE STRUGGLES IN THE REGION, AS IT HAS BEEN PROVED DURING THE GULF WAR, WHEN, FROM MAGHREB TO MACHREK, THE IRAQI RESISTANCE MADE THE POSSIBILITY OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE OPPRESSION'S CONDITIONS OF MILLIONS THEN VISIBLE AND CONCRETE. THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRESENCE OF THE ZIONIST ENTITY AND THE REVENDICATION OF A PALESTINIAN NATION IS CENTRAL AND IT REMAINS DETERMINING FOR THE FUTURE OF THE IMPERIALIST, AND FIRST OF ALL AMERICAN, PACIFICATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

SINCE 1965, THE BEGINNING'S YEAR OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN AN ORGANIZED FORM, THE FIGHTING VANGUARDS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, PHASE BY PHASE, HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OPPOSE ALL THE VARIANTS OF THE REALIZATION OF THE IMPERIALISM'S CENTRAL PROJECT IN THE AREA, AIMED TO THE CANCELLATION OF THE "PALESTINIAN QUESTION" WITH THE POLITICAL REARRANGEMENT OF THE REGION AROUND THE ZIONIST ENTITY. IN THE SEVENTIES THE PALESTINIAN FIGHTING VANGUARD BROUGHT THE FRONTLINE INTO EUROPE AND, AS THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION ALREADY DID, IT HIT ITS TARGETS IN THE HEART ITSELF OF THE IMPERIALISM, THIS WAY STRONGLY AFFIRMING THAT ANTIMPERIALIST LINE WHICH MAKES THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION AN ESSENTIAL DATUM POINT FOR EVERY REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS EITHER IN PERIPHERY OR IN THE CENTER. TODAY THE ENEMY LAID THE BASIS TO MAKE "ISRAEL" NO MORE ONLY A GUARDIAN OF THE IMPERIALISM, BUT A REAL REGIONAL POWER DESTINED TO EXERT ALL THE POLITICAL WEIGHT AND THE ECONOMIC INFLUENCE WHICH RESULT FROM ITS TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. THE MAIN CORE OF THIS PROJECT IS ALWAYS REPRESENTED BY THOSE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS WHICH OPENED THE FIRST REAL BREACH INTO THE CAMP OF THE ARAB NATION AND WHICH ARE STILL MOLDING THE POLICIES AIMED TO UPSET THE ARAB AND PALESTINIAN FRONT BY PURSUING BILATERAL AND SEPARATED PEACE AGREEMENTS WITH THE PLO AND THE NEIGHBORING ARAB COUNTRIES. NOW, ALSO THE "AUTONOMY PLAN", ~~RE~~ ALREADY FORESEEN BY THE 1979 AGREEMENTS, IS TAKING A SHAPE IN THE "GAZA AND JERICHO FIRST" FORMULA, WHICH IS THE RESULT OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CAPITULATIONIST LEADERSHIP AND THE RABIN GOVERNMENT UNDER THE AMERICAN TUTORSHIP. THIS PROJECT IS ATTACKED BY ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES WHICH EXPRESS THE GENUINELY POPULAR INTERESTS OF THE MASSES IN PALESTINE AND IN THE DISPORA. THE OPPOSITION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH NEVER GAVE UP THE ARMED STRUGGLE, AND SIX YEARS OF INTIFADA DETERMINE A SITUATION IN WHICH

THE CAPITULATIONIST PLO LEADERSHIP IS OBLIGED TO TAKE DECISIONS WHICH ARE LINED UP WITH THE AMERICAN AND ZIONIST DEMANDS. AND MORE AND MORE IN CONTRAST WITH THE NATIONAL NEEDS, ITSELF FOMENTING THE INTENSIFYING OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE PALESTINIAN EXPLOITED CLASSES, OF ALL WHO INEVITABLY WILL BE EXCLUDED FROM THE NARROW ECONOMIC BENEFITS BROUGHT BY THE "AUTONOMY PLAN". DAY AFTER DAY, THIS OPPOSITION EXPRESSES ITSELF BY RENEWED ATTACKS AGAINST THE ISRAELI MILITARY FORCES AND THE ZIONIST OCCUPIERS - THE INDIVIDUATION OF THE "GAZA AND JERICHO FIRST" AGREEMENT AS A FUNDAMENTAL STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN THE REGION AND THE RESOLUTION IN HITTING ITS POLITICAL OUTCOMES BRINGING DOWN THE AIM OF THE PACIFICATION, AGREE WITH THE AWARENESS OF ALL THE ANTIMPERIALIST FIGHTERS THAT THIS FIGHT WILL MEASURE THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE FORCE'S RELATIONS BETWEEN REVOLUTION AND IMPERIALISM IN THE WHOLE AREA AND OUTSIDE IT.

THEREFORE, THE LEADERSHIP'S ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE UNFOLDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROSPECT MUST ALWAYS PAY ATTENTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL OF THE STRUGGLE, UNDERTAKING THE RESPONSABILITY OF OPERATING IN THE CONNECTED PRESENT CLASS/STATE RELATION - A DECISIVE RESPONSABILITY AND A LEADING ROLE TO BE CONQUERED AND PROTECTED, BOTH EXPRESSIBLE IN A POLITICALLY COMPLETED WAY ONLY IN THE GUIDANCE OF THE CONSTRUCTION'S PROCESS OF THE FIGHTING COMMUNIST PARTY - FOR THE RED BRIGADES, THE CRUX OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GUIDANCE DETERMINED BY THE PARTY DOESN'T COME LOOSE BY AN ACT OF FORMAL FOUNDATION. THE CONSTRUCTION'S PROCESS OF THE PCC ASSUMES SUCH A SHAPE INSIDE THE CONSTRUCTION'S COURSE OF THE CONDITIONS THEMSELVES OF THE CLASS WAR, AND THEREFORE IT AFFIRMS ITSELF NOT BY IDEOLOGICAL STEPS, BUT BY THE ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL-MILITARY EXPERIENCE SYNTHETIZED INTO REVOLUTIONARY THEORY, WHICH DEEPENS AND SYSTEMATIZES ITSELF TO COME BACK TO ^{LEAD} ~~CONDUCT~~ THE PRACTICE - THEREFORE, WE CAN AFFIRM THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL LINES OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE'S STRATEGY DEPEND ON AN ORGANICAL POLITICAL LINE WHICH ORIGINATES FROM THE THEORETICAL OUTCOME AND THE POLITICAL RESULTS ACHIEVED IN MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS OF FIGHTING PRACTICE, A POLITICAL LINE WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN VERIFIED IN THE THICK OF THE FIGHT AND PASSED THROUGH THE CRITICAL SETTING OF THE REALITY OF THE FORCE'S RELATIONS AND WHICH REPRESENTS THE HIGHEST CONTRIBUTION TO THE ELABORATION OF THE COMMUNIST SCIENCE OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN THIS HISTORICAL PHASE - THE PRACTICAL CONFRONTATION, WHICH MUST LEAD THE COMMUNISTS' UNITY WITH REGARD TO THE NECESSITY OF THE FIGHTING PARTY, IS THE RESULT OF THE WORK TO FIRMLY TAKE THE GUERRILLA TO THOSE POLITICAL-MILITARY ANALYSIS AND PROGRAM'S LEVELS WHICH ARE INDISPENSABLE TO FACE THE NOW TASKS TO BE PURSUED IN A DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX GENERAL DATUM PICTURE AND IN HARD STRUGGLE'S CONDITIONS THIS IS A STAGE WHICH EXPRESSES ITSELF AS RECONSTRUCTION'S PHASE, AND IN WHICH IT'S THE MORE AND MORE GROWING ROLE ~~OF~~ OF THE SUBJECTIVITY TO DETERMINE AND UNDERTAKE A COURSE WHICH, AFTER A LONG PERIOD OF DISCONTINUANCE IN THE ACTIVITY OF THE GUERRILLA, CHARGES ITSELF WITH INELUDIBLE RESPONSABILITIES IN THE GETTING READY FOR THE RELAUNCH OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE, FOR RE-ESTABLISHING THE GENERAL TERMS WHICH ENABLE NEW OFFENSIVES.

WHILE THE PAPER BEARS EVERYTHING, THE CONCRETE GROWING OF A LONG LENGTH REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS INEVITABLY PAYS FOR STANDSTILLS, WITHDRAWALS, MILITARY DEFEATS. BUT, WITH THE AWARENESS ITSELF OF THE ORGANICAL LINE OF THE BR-PCC, WHICH IS LEADING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS PHASE TOO, THE REVOLUTIONARY SUBJECTIVITY IS ALREADY ABLE TO MAKE ITS OWN AIMS LIVE, IN THE SENSE OF ACTING AS FIGHTING PARTY TO CONSTRUCT THE FIGHTING PARTY, ALWAYS PLACING ITSELF AS ITS STRATEGIC CORE TREASURING THE VERY RICH HERITAGE OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, LOGISTIC AND ORGANIZATIVE EXPERIENCE OF THE RED BRIGADES! HISTORY DOESN'T MEAN TO APPLY MECHANICALLY TO A SET OF ALREADY GIVEN SOLUTIONS, BUT TO MOVE ON THE BASIS OF THIS STRONG SETTING OUT AND OF A WORKING STYLE WHICH CONFIRMED THEMSELVES AS THE BEST GUARANTY OF OVERCOMING DIFFICULT AND DEMANDING MOMENTS.

THE IMPERIALIST BOURGBOISIE'S NECESSITY OF LIQUIDATING AN INTERNAL POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL

STRUCTURE, WHICH IS OBSOLETE BY NOW, IS DIRECTLY CORRELATED WITH THE SEARCH OF THE MOST FAVOURABLE GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR THE REPLACEMENT OF ITALY INTO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL BALANCES IN THE COURSE OF CONTINUOUS REDEFINITION - THEN, FOR THE GUERRILLA, INTERVENING ON THE DELICATE ARTICULATION, IN WHICH WE FIND THE RENEWED ITALIAN PROTAGONISM FOR THE FULL UNDERTAKING OF A MEDIUM POWER'S ROLE, WHICH URGES FOR ITS HIERARCHIC, POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY RE-PLACEMENT IN THE SUPER-NATIONAL BODIES (FROM U.N. TO U.E., FROM NATO TO W.E.U.), MEANS TO AROUSE ALSO THOSE RELAPSES, ON THE LEVEL OF THE INTERNAL FORCE'S RELATIONS, WHICH DEFINE THE HEART OF THE STATE AS THE GUARANTOR LINE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE ARTICULATION BETWEEN ECONOMIC BALANCING, NEW POLITICAL-PARTY FRAMEWORK, STAGES OF INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION. THE DEEPENING AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE DOMINATION'S FORMS OVER THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH STABILIZE THE CLASS/STATE RELATION AT THE LEVEL DEMANDED BY THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE AS INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR THE COMPETITIVE PROJECTION AND THE CONQUEST OF NEW SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, MAKE THE HEART OF THE STATE LIVE IN THE LINE WHICH IS AFFIRMING AND STRENGTHENING ITSELF IN THE COMPETITION TO LEAD THE TRANSITION'S PHASE TO THE SECOND REPUBLIC - THE PROGRAMMATIC UNITY'S RELATION BETWEEN ANTIMPERIALISM AND ATTACK TO THE HEART OF THE STATE MUST BE MADE IN THIS SENSE, AND IT MUST UNDERLINE THE GUERRILLA'S ABILITY TO SPOT AND HIT THE CENTRAL POLITICAL LINES ON THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE IMPERIALIST REPLACEMENT OF ITALY, REALISTICALLY AND SIMULTANEOUSLY SETTING OUT THE BEGINNING OF THE DISARTICULATION'S PROCESS OF THE ESTABLISHING OF A REAL SECOND REPUBLIC.

ONLY THROUGH THIS VIEW OF THE FIGHT AN ADEQUATE OFFENSIVE PRACTICE OF THE GUERRILLA CAN SOLIDLY BUILD THE PROMISES FOR RE-STARTING A CORRECT DYNAMICS WHICH IS ABLE TO CONNECT THE COMING OUT OF THE WORKING AND PROLETARIAN CAMP FROM THE DEFENSIVE WITH THE UPDATING OF THE POLITICAL, ANTICAPITALIST, ANTISTATE AND ANTIMPERIALIST EXPRESSION OF ITS AUTONOMY. THE REVITALIZATION OF THE ^{DERIVED} FIGHTING VANGUARD/CLASS-AUTONOMY & DIALECTICS (ALWAYS AND HOWEVER BOUND BY THE DISCONTINUOUS FIGHT'S COURSE) HAS TO BE BUILT IN THE PROSPECT OF THE GUERRILLA'S LEADERSHIP OF THE SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE ORGANIZATION AND OF THE DISPOSITION OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY FORCES ON THE GROUND OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THEREFORE, IT'S ONLY BY WEIGHING ON THE GENERAL FORCES RELATIONS WITH AN AIMED AND FROM-THE-TOP ACTIVITY THAT THE PROSPECT OF A POLITICAL STRENGTHENING OF THE PROLETARIAN CAMP CAN BECOME A COMING OUT OF THE CLASS FROM THE PRESENT DEFENSIVE, A TENACIOUS AND DAILY RESISTENCE, DESTINED TO WEAKEN FURTHER ON WITHOUT THE RELAUNCH OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND OF ITS STRATEGIC ABILITY OF DISARTICULATING THE CENTRAL PROJECT OF THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE - THE TRANSITION TO THE SECOND REPUBLIC FOR THE FULL UNDERTAKING OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ROLE IN THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM.

WAR TO THE WAR!

WAR TO THE NATO!

TO CONSTRUCT AND CONSOLIDATE THE ANTIMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT!

TO ATTACK AND DISARTICULATE THE TRANSITION'S PHASE TO THE SECOND REPUBLIC!

TO ORGANIZE THE POLITICAL-MILITARY TERMS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION'S PHASE FOR THE RELAUNCH OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

HONOUR TO THE COMRADES WHO FELL DEAD FIGHTING FOR THE COMMUNISM!

THE MILITANTS OF THE RED BRIGADES

FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE
FIGHTING COMMUNIST PARTY

FRANCESCO AIOSA

ARIO PIZZARELLI

LUIS CLERICI

UDINE, 21ST SEPTEMBER 1994

I ACKNOWLEDGE THE EFFECTIVENESS AND THE ADEQUACY OF THE OVERALL POLITICAL LINE OF THE RED BRIGADES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIGHTING COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH, BY THE ACTION OF AVIANO, RELAUNCHED THE STRATEGIC PROPOSAL OF THE CONSTRUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE ANTIIMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT IN THE EUROPE-MEDITERRANEAN BASIN-MIDDLE EAST GEOPOLITICAL AREA; AND IT'S IN RELATION WITH THIS THAT I DISCIPLINE AND RANGE MY MILITANCY AND EVERY POLITICAL AND PRACTICAL BEHAVIOR OF MINE, ACKNOWLEDGING MYSELF IN THE CORRECTLY PLANNED AND ELOQUENTLY PRACTISED POLITICAL MANAGEMENT WHICH THE RED BRIGADES HAVE GIVEN TO THIS TRIAL - SIGNIFICANT PORTRAYAL OF THE BOURGEOIS JUSTICE AND OF ITS SERVANTS.

THE COMMUNIST MILITANT

UBINE, SEPTEMBER 29TH, 1994

PAOLO DORICO